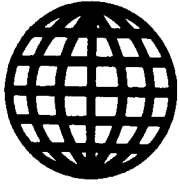


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4 AUGUST 1988



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JPRS Report

Soviet Union

Political Affairs

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Political Affairs

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**Estonia's Toome on Need for Popular Front,
'Greens' Movement**

18000526a Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian
No 6, Jun 88 pp 2-4

[Interview by A. Shpikalov of Indrek Toome, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia, under rubric "Towards the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "To the True Values of Socialism"]

[Text] [Question] Indrek Kherbetovich, the central press, radio, and television have frequently reported instructive facts linked with the rate of perestroyka and democratization in your republic. In an interview on the program "Before and After Midnight" you mentioned the creation in the republic of a popular front, the "greens" movement, and a sharp discussion at a united plenum of the republic's creative union on the eve of the 19th All-Union Party Conference. I liked your free, casual style and the precise position that you took in defending the pluralism of opinions and interests. I would like to learn more details about the development of glasnost and democratism in your republic, and about the participation of Estonia's journalists in perestroyka.

[Answer] Fine! Let's talk. But first, please allow me to make a slight digression. At the moment when the revolutionary reforms that we call perestroyka began, the hierarchy of power—both political and economic—had taken on the form of a kind of triangle, the upper angle of which concentrated within itself all the capabilities—from global instructions to run-of-the-mill initiative. That is, instructions were issued from the very top: who should show initiative, when, and in what form, who should support that initiative and when, etc. As I view it, perestroyka is, roughly speaking, the opportunity to turn the triangle upside down, in order to emancipate the human, popular initiative, in order for everyone to feel confident in his society, in order for him to come forth with any proposal, in order for every enterprise, every trade-union committee, and perhaps also the new societies and organizations that have been appearing but are as yet unfamiliar, can come forward with their own initiatives. At the present time we are on the path to the situation in which everyone who is situated at the tip of the triangle must listen very attentively to the other side...

[Question] ...which in mathematics is called the base of the triangle.

[Answer] That is a justified refinement. Because in order for the intelligent, sensible initiatives that emerge from the base, from the basis of our society to find understanding and support, it is necessary to have democratization, glasnost, and discussion.

[Question] Reflecting on the image of the triangle that you have suggested, I would like to comment that there exists a danger that when it is being turned, the triangle

may fall on its side. Then the apex will prove to be on the bottom, but the base will still not be on the top. The ones who will prove to be on the top are those who recently were still on the side.

[Answer] That is why we cannot weaken our efforts, and if we have been assigned the task of returning to the true values of socialism, to the Leninist understanding of socialism, we must sense our responsibility in assuring that the triangle occupies the correct position. I must tell you that there has been a serious struggle for this and I think that that struggle will subsequently be even more serious: because, in essence, millions of people must renounce the extremely stable stereotypes.

In our republic we attempt to do things in such a way that neither the people nor the administrators are surprised by those innovations that appear among us. There have been a rather large number of them. Perestroyka is bringing into our life much that simply did not exist previously. And the most frightening thing, perhaps, is the fact that many people are frightened by the changes. "Oh, what are they doing?" is the reaction of a large number of people. I am convinced that in a short period of time we shall all laugh together about our political naivete, about the way that people perceived timorously the absolutely normal things to which socialism had oriented us as long ago as the 1920's.

Once the question has been raised in the form "More democracy, more socialism," it is necessary to reconsider the questions linked primarily with initiative. I have in mind the "redistribution" of power, the development of democracy. And I mean precisely in favor of the nation, in favor of the people. That is the light in which we must understand those processes that are occurring in our society today.

[Question] For example, the creation of the popular front?

[Answer] I daresay, although here we are not completely original. Similar ideas have been expressed in the central press. So this movement in support of perestroyka, in defense of glasnost and democracy, is born in our heated discussions. This is not the party. It is a movement of people who have a self-interest in perestroyka.

We may as well admit that the activity of many organizations—including party, trade-union, and Komsomol ones—evokes censure today. In the opinion of many people the "official" structures—including soviet, state, party, economic, trade-union, and Komsomol ones—have not been working to produce the effect that society would want to have. This pertains also to the deputies. Many of them get into the soviets for reasons that by no means have anything to do with the social or on-the-job capabilities, but rather for reasons of fulfilling an allocation plan. And those deputies, who for the most part are honest, hard-working people, actually cannot properly represent their constituents. I have frequently heard

deputies talking frankly about this. Consequently, it is necessary to look for ways to assure that these problems are not repeated from election to election. We need people who can work, who can represent not themselves, but the interests of their constituents. Then we can hope for the initiatory behavior of people who trust both their deputy and the Soviet authority. The popular front is being created, in the words of its initiators, in order to strengthen the bond between people and the agencies of authority.

[Question] And what about the "greens" movement?

[Answer] People understand that the natural environment is being threatened by catastrophe. But the existing Environmental Protection Society, in the opinion of many people, has become an educational organization that basically talks and issues appeals: "Protect the environment!", "Nature must be protected!" Yes, it must. But why hasn't anything been undertaken for a long time, and why isn't anything being undertaken now? Why are there so many ecological conflicts? Why is their number growing? It is time not only to provide education, but also to sound the alarm. The "green" movement is also a sign of perestroika.

Some people say that this is a counterbalance to the party. Absolutely not. Both in the popular front and among the "greens," the people who are in charge of the initiative groups are Communists of various occupations. Those movements have been called upon to stir up the initiative of people and their deputies, and also, in certain instances, the conscience of individual persons who forget that they are the servants of the people. More power to the people, that is, to the soviets! That is the slogan of these movements.

[Question] I would like now, if possible, to discuss the united plenum of the republic's creative unions that got such a large response.

[Answer] When revolutionary processes occur in a country, there inevitably appear leaders, people who have an acute sense of the moment and the need for large and small changes. And it is naive to think that these people should not include representatives of the intelligentsia—whether creative or technical. We need more of them! They are educated people, people who tend to analyze things. They have a more acute perception of the disease affecting our social organism. It was precisely authors writing on public affairs, scientists, journalists, teachers, and engineers who began, more loudly than anyone else, to talk about the painful spots that must be cured by perestroika. They understood their responsibility more rapidly than anyone else.

Our creative unions made wide use of the rostrum that had been presented by the press, radio, and television. Shortly before the forthcoming All-Union Party Conference it was decided to conduct a united plenum.

More than 50 persons spoke at that plenum. The problems were raised on a large scale and in an acute manner. The unanimously passed documents contain both faith in perestroika and support of it. They state that what is needed more than socialism is the decentralization of power. And in my opinion that is the question of questions.

Criticism was also directed at the plenum to the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party. Obviously, our work is still far from perfection, but more than criticism is needed. It is necessary to cooperate more closely, to think together, and to discuss constructively the problems that have become critical, rather than to move toward dubious confrontation. In the major aspects we must be united: perestroika cannot be subdivided. It is an integrated process that unites all the healthy forces of society. And it is headed by the party.

The plenum also pointed out the fact that people have a certain listing to one side in interpreting the facts of real life, and a shortage of political and discussion skills. We have people who would like to contrast the party and the people, the republic and the country, and to discredit the leadership, ascribing to the leadership the responsibility for all the mistakes. I think that it is thoroughly wrong to divide society into those who issue ideas and those who must implement them. No, we are all responsible to the nation for perestroika. Including the intelligentsia.

The discussion that ensued at that plenum also splashed out some immature, hasty judgments. There were many emotions, very many, but that should not frighten us. The most important thing is that statements were made by people with different views of life and the ways to develop our society. Because, for a long time, our discussions—if they ever did occur—proceeded without emotions, without compassion. Most often it was only a game of discussion.

The pluralism of opinions in our press is reflected today rather clearly. You yourself are a witness of that. The republic newspapers, the rayon press, radio, and television completely adequately reflect that which we spoke about in labor collectives, families, and among student audiences. I do not remember anyone saying reprovingly that we had failed to give someone the floor, or the opportunity to express his position or defend his opinion. That, in my opinion, is a great victory. It may be that we do not yet know how to organize discussions and the game, as the expression goes, is sometimes played to a single goal post. Here one can say reprovingly to the press: the press must not simply record an event dispassionately, reporting about the fact, for example, that such and such an opinion predominated. In my opinion, a newspaper must indeed become the organizer, must attempt to ascertain a second or third opinion, so that

the discussion will actually be a discussion, will reveal the breadth of views, and will teach people to respect an opponent's opinion. Because no one today has a monopoly on the truth.

Processes evolve very rapidly. One cannot compare what happened three months ago with what is happening today. But that does not frighten us. That is what perestroika is. It must bring us a large number of innovations, and the more adequately the press communicates what is being discussed among the people, in the labor collectives, the more effectively we will be able to promote the process of perestroika.

[Question] Am I correct in thinking that you are pleased by the fact that there are no newspapers in the kiosks—neither the central ones nor republic ones?

[Answer] Of course, but, incidentally, this is one of the things that we—the Central Committee—are criticized about: why are the newspapers printed in such small printing runs? But quite recently, with even smaller printing runs, many newspapers went unsold. People's participation has been aroused. There has been a change in the nature of the items published, and so the newspapers are now a scarce commodity! That cannot fail to please us.

The print runs of our newspapers have increased noticeably, and the rural newspaper, which we never used to have at all, has outstripped all of them: 170,000 copies. And this is in a situation when approximately 500,000 people are living in our rural areas. Last year PULS VREMENI magazine had 80,000 subscribers, but this year it has 130,000.

The print runs of all the rayon newspapers have also grown. Tartu, for example, has a population of 110,000 persons, the rayon has an additional 50,000, but the newspaper's printing run this year was 152,000 copies. And there are no copies to buy. Yet there is nothing sensationalistic or "off-color" in it. For the most part, it prints items dealing with socioeconomic topics, letters from the readers, and discussions.

[Question] The most important thing is that there are no empty items!

[Answer] I think that the Estonian CP Central Committee and the republic leadership never used to work as actively with the journalists as they do today. We constantly have meetings not only with newspaper editors and television and radio administrators. We constantly conduct various press conferences and briefings for journalists. There have also been meetings behind this very table where you and I are chatting. We feel that a very great deal depends today upon the journalists, and

we are convinced that we must give them the absolutely maximum amount of information about all the measures being undertaken by the party agencies, the government, and the republic's Supreme Soviet.

Moreover, from each session the Central Committee Buro photographs a topic for television. After the session the television correspondent can ask its participants any questions for the purpose of expanding the discussion and putting it before the television audience. This very evening, the "Topics of the Day" informational program will be presenting material about the buro and the journalist's comments.

[Question] Do the journalists have the opportunity to prepare ahead of time?

[Answer] Yes, they are acquainted with the materials that are being prepared for the buro. The same thing pertains to sessions of the Council of Ministers and the Supreme Soviet.

[Question] Have there been instances when you did not like the journalist's comments, or his point of view?

[Answer] Yes, of course. But I do not have the monopoly on truth. Each of us can make a mistake and, definitely, in an argument with that commentator we will ascertain the truth. But one cannot resolve any problems by issuing bans, setting limitations, squelching people, or pounding one's fist on the table. We are obliged to remember that, according to Lenin, the party must not have any methods of convincing people other than conviction itself.

We have an old revolutionary and party veteran since 1917, Khendrik Allik. He is constantly telling people, "Come on, Communists, let's speak the truth more. Because in 1917 we didn't have anything other than the truth, and we took that truth to the masses of the people and we convinced them!"

And this is how all party members should act today also. Perestroika requires this. It is another matter if not all of us are ready to speak the truth. Both our cadres, for the most part, and our aktiv have come from a previous time, when it was not necessary to defend or protect one's idea, one's position in discussions and arguments, and very, very many of these people have never learned how to do that.

They have to learn how.

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**Media Exhorted to Draw Perestroika Lessons
from Andreyeva Letter Affair**

*18300304a Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian
No 5, May 88 pp 20-21*

[Article by ZHURNALIST commentator Pavel Demidov, under rubric "In the Center of Events": "No Need to Be Deluded: We Are Reminded of the Situation with the Article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 'I Cannot Waive My Principles'"]

[Text] During my long years of working in the press, I do not recall a situation that has caused such stormy public response. I have in mind the item published in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA under the title "I Cannot Waive My Principles." All sorts of things have happened in newspapers: inflated sensations have been printed, ridiculous mistakes have been made, and sometimes an incorrect figure or quotation has caused literally a squall of letters to the editor. But this situation... The item was published on 13 March, and a month later the editorial office itself admitted, "Letters. Letters. With every passing day, the flood of them has been growing."

It would seem that today's reader cannot be surprised by revelations. Rasputin, Antonov, Shmelev, Popov, Latsis, Karyakin, Selyunin... Their articles are present in the memory of everyone who sees himself as a participant in the events of our social life. Regardless of what attitude he takes toward them. What's that, you ask? Did that last phrase evoke bewilderment? That is, do you want to ask: what other attitude could be taken to perestroika? In that case, please reread attentively the 13 March issue of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, and then the 5 April issue of PRAVDA—"Principles of Perestroika: The Revolutionary Spirit of Thought and Actions"—where, in particular, it is stated that "the appearance of the article 'I Cannot Waive My Principles' is an attempt in leisurely fashion to revise party decisions." That is the answer to the question, "What other attitude could be taken to perestroika?" and the reason for the sharp public reaction to the article.

These comments are not a continuation of the "passionate argument that has flared up after the publication of the article" (I am quoting SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA). PRAVDA's editorial evaluated it with sufficient convincingness and completeness. These comments are a kind of warning to like-minded persons who gave a rebuff to the article mentioned. They are an appeal not to be deluded relative to the ease of the struggle and the victories on the perestroika fronts. For the danger of that delusion, unfortunately, has not been precluded.

On 23 March, 10 days after the article was printed, I was at an open party meeting at the USSR Cinematographers' Union. Aleksandr Gelman was giving a report. I shall dwell here on only one thesis. "Open and behind-the-scene opponents of perestroika," he said, "are becoming increasingly aware that the ideals of perestroika are winning more and more hearts with every

passing day... They understand that they must hurry... I assume that the preparation for the party conference, or even the party conference itself, can prove to be that beachhead where they will attempt to put up a decisive fight against perestroika... In this sense I consider it to be no accident that SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA published the article by Nina Andreyeva, who expressed certain keynote goals of the conservative forces in the party... Into whose hand does Andreyeva's position play? The nation's? The party's? Definitely not."

On 9 April SOVETSKAYA KULTURA published the text of the statement, with the following editorial note: "The open party meeting completely supported A. I. Gelman's statement and the recommendations contained in it and passed a decision to send the text of the statement to party agencies, including the CPSU Central Committee, as a mandate from the Communists in the party organization of the board of governors of the USSR Cinematographers' Union to the 19th All-Union Party Conference. The decision was passed unanimously."

I know that a similar attitude was taken to the article in a very large number of collectives. And, properly speaking, this could not have been otherwise: perestroika actually has become a matter that is close to the heart of the people. I just caught myself on the point of writing in front of the word "people" the customary word "entire." That's what stereotyped thinking can cause!... It is **not** the **entire** people, otherwise where could this article have come from? But in this instance the topic of discussion is not so much the article and its author: the right to express a different opinion today, thank God, is not only a declaration. In this instance the topic of discussion is the events **around and after**. And that is why I appeal to like-minded people: don't be deluded!

There exist a large number, a very large number, of legends, especially in newspaper circles, about the history behind the appearance of the article. Some say that at first the author pushed her way into one central newspaper, and then, just as unsuccessfully, into another, until finally she found mooring at SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Some say that the original version differed very strongly from what appeared on the printed page: it had grown in volume and had been enriched practically by entire paragraphs. It is difficult to believe, and today it would probably be impossible to track it down completely, but is this really necessary? What would this reveal? It would reveal that, out of these legends, others have been born, and these are much more dangerous in their political consequences. That the article, it is said, was coordinated by the editorial office "at almost the very top" and had received its blessing, and so on. So does it turn out that the article is a "directive" article, as in the days gone by? And this, you can understand yourself, is what it leads to.

In general, this is not what people are saying. As a result, the mindless chatterboxes, the lovers of "roasted meat," without even suspecting it themselves, are allying themselves with the conservatives, the obvious and secret

opponents of perestroika, thus multiplying their ranks. And that's the only thing that the opponents need—the chance to be a bit noisier and a bit more declamatory.

This perception is also promoted by the unbelievable size of the article, its pronounced pomposity, and the complete lack of any comments or point of view of an opponent. The shy rubric "Polemics" is so small that you cannot find it immediately, and is no more than a fig leaf that is scarcely big enough to cover everything.

In PRAVDA's editorial there is not a single mention of the name of the person who wrote the letter "I Cannot Waive My Principles." There is a good deal of sense in this. Naming the author of the article would mean reducing the item in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA to revelations made by a person who has made mistakes and who, in addition, is not very knowledgeable, whereas the PRAVDA article mentions it as nothing else but an ideological platform, a manifesto of the anti-perestroika forces.

The reader is no mouse, and a newspaper is no cat, and playing with him a certain game, especially on such acute topics, is really unbecoming, especially for such a publication as SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.

Okay, then, it was a mistake. Let us assume that. On 15 April the newspaper admitted it. The form in which it did so is, incidentally, not the subject for reflection here. Out of 300 lines printed under the heading "Editor's notes," only 15—that is, one-twentieth—are an evaluation of the fact. If you take away that paragraph, you could print the remaining paragraphs as an advertisement for the newspaper during a subscription campaign. But even that which pertains to admitting the mistake is presented in streamlined form.

Admitting the criticism contained in PRAVDA's article, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA writes that, when preparing the letter for the press, "there was a lack of display of sufficient responsibility, careful consideration, and understanding of the fact that it was leading all of us away from the revolutionary renovation of society on the basis of democracy and glasnost."

How's that again? On the one hand, the letter is "leading us away," and on the other, "insufficient responsibility, careful consideration, and understanding"? Does that mean that the people knew, saw, and understood, but only "insufficiently"? Insufficiently for what? For not putting themselves under criticism? And what about "insufficiently weighed"? A few steadying paragraphs? People can believe what they want, but I do not trust their frankness very much.

I could give additional examples. Yes, to put it honestly, I simply feel awkward and painful about the newspaper, where, incidentally, I worked many a year.

And now I would like to discuss what is probably the most important and most alarming thing. As we have already said, the article caused a stormy public response. One ought not to think that that response was completely the same. The article threw some readers into utter confusion and doubt. Other readers expressed a sharp protest. In still others the article found an agreeing response: for two weeks the article was reprinted by several newspapers—GORKOVSKAYA PRAVDA (on 15 March!), URALSKIY RABOCHIY, VOROSHILOVSKAYA PRAVDA, and VECHERNIY DONETSK.

On 29 March TASS teletype machines sent the following announcement to the local newspapers: "In response to requests from newspapers concerning the reprinting of N. Andreyeva's article 'I Cannot Waive My Principles' (SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, 13 March 1988), we report that this question must be resolved upon coordination with the local party agencies." The purpose was to say that the item was not of a directive nature, and that its reprinting had not been sanctioned. However, on 31 March NOVGORODSKAYA PRAVDA reproduced on its pages the article from SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. As we can see, for certain party committees and editorial offices the thing that proved to be the most difficult was the independent making of responsible and completely accurate political decisions.

Mistakes, errors, inaccuracies... Aren't there too many of them? And, moreover, for such a short period of time? Isn't their price too great? Today we can interpret what occurred. We feel ashamed at those three weeks of silence that passed between the item printed in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and the one printed in PRAVDA. Not a single one of us who, with all his heart, mind, and soul, is in favor of perestroika lifted his pen or raised his voice in its defense. We waited. But the ones who did not wait and the ones who did not remain silent were those who are against it. As Leningrad SMENA writes, the Leningrad television broadcast concerning the discussion in Vyborgskiy Rayon was obviously oriented toward supporting the article "I Cannot Waive My Principles."

Is there a lesson there? Definitely!

Mastering practical democratism and living in an atmosphere of the free confrontation of opinions is not simple. There will be mistakes, and there will also be opposition in the guise of mistakes. Therefore there is no need thoughtlessly to extend one's hand in "unanimous approval." Just look around yourself, look at life, and take a look into yourself.

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**Reader Notes 'International' Nature of Stalin
Entourage 'Crimes'**

18300267 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
21 Apr 88

[Letter by I.G. Korotich, CPSU member since 1958,
chief project engineer, Kharkov: "Admiration and
Anger"]

[Text] Dear Tengiz Abuladze, I want to express my
admiration for your courage shown during the creation
of the film "Repentance" where crimes of dictators are
unmasked. Special honor to you lies in the fact that you
are Georgian, and Georgians Stalin and Beriya were
among the most vicious of criminals of recent time.
However, I became excited by your article responding to
the one published by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. I
have not read this article, but I fully share your indigna-
tion with the fact that some people connect Stalin's
crimes with his national character and somehow put a
shadow on all Georgian peoples. To think so is extreme
foolishness. The crimes of Stalin and his entourage are
an international phenomenon. A Russian Molotov and a
Jew Kaganovich were close to Stalin, and this phenom-
enon was a consequence of their petty-bourgeois psy-
chology rather than a manifestation of national charac-
ter.

All honest people feel a deep respect toward Georgian
peoples and their ancient culture. We in the Ukraine
deeply revere Sergo Ordzhonikidze. He is also a Geor-
gian and also was hot as most Georgians are. He was also
slightly rough and even once committed an assault and
battery. But he had a kind human heart. For that we love
and revere him. We have in Kharkov a tractor building
plant which carries Ordzhonikidze's name; there is a
resting house imeni Ordzhonikidze, and there are mon-
uments. Maybe, you have heard that the public raises the
subject of returning their former names to the towns of
Zhdanov and Voroshilovgrad. But nobody raises this
subject about Ordzhonikidze's memory. And will not
raise it! Because he is an honest, courageous man who
had done so much for the industrialization of the coun-
try and left life not able to stand the lawlessness. Not
only Georgians, but all the peoples of our multinational
Motherland are proud of such a man. Just as Stalin's
crimes are a misfortune of not only Georgians but of all
peoples of our country.

Accept my deep respect toward you personally and all
beautiful toilers of Georgia.

13355

**Increasing Interest in Religion Seen as Failure of
Atheist Propaganda, Alienation of Individual**
*18000358 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in
Russian 9 Apr 88 p 4*

[Article by T. Sergeyeva and V. Shvagin: "How We Treat Easter. The Religious Holiday: Food for Thought About Our Atheistic Work?"]

[Text] Interest in the history of our native culture and the role of the Orthodox Church within it, as well as in religion's role in contemporary Soviet society, is a natural and understandable interest, stimulated by the upcoming 1,000th anniversary of the introduction of Christianity to Russia. Easter will be the first among a number of holidays with which the Russian Orthodox Church is celebrating its anniversary. This religious holiday gives atheists, and all those who are involved in scientific and atheistic upbringing, cause to consider the irreconcilable ideological principles of socialism and of religion and the need to consolidate all citizens of our society in the struggle for restructuring, for the successful implementation of plans for building socialism.

It would be no exaggeration, perhaps, to say that shaping an atheistic belief in the masses is a comprehensive part of the overall front of restructuring. We are setting up a well thought-out, regulated program of action in the areas of economics of social life and culture, yet in the area of atheistic upbringing, the development of such a program that meets today's realities is lagging. Today, without waiting for managerial directions, both the theoreticians of atheism, and there is a solid body of them in Moscow, as well as the practitioners—propagandists, the organizers of atheistic work, party committees and social organizations—must seek out contemporary forms and methods.

Western clerical propaganda asserts that a critical situation has formed between the state and the church, between atheists and believers in our country. This claim does not accord with reality. Basically, these relationships are developing normally and are characterized by a unity of the fundamental interests of all citizens of our country, by their participation in the struggle for the acceleration of socioeconomic progress and the strengthening of peace. The journal KOMMUNIST wrote: "The churches in the USSR are seeking a consonance with the humane ideals of socialism in the fund of personal spiritual values, displaying not only loyalty but also solidarity with the program lines of Soviet society, cooperating in their implementation and reflecting the interests of believing Soviet citizens."

However, the political union with the church, oriented toward cooperation in peace-making activity and the expansion of participation by believers in solving general national tasks, in no way signifies any need to spiritually disarm ourselves, to abandon atheistic propaganda in general, as some are suggesting. Conversely, ideological polemics should continue and be enhanced. However, if

this is to be well-substantiated and effective, we must take the specific details of religion and its place in the social consciousness on the whole, as well as in the individual's world perception, into consideration, form an accurate model of the believer and realistically evaluate the religious situation in each specific rayon of Moscow, in each labor collective. Probably, the most difficult part is, not merely satisfying mass propaganda, to carry out persuasive and well thought-out work with individuals.

Study has indicated that the number of lectures given on atheistic themes approximately corresponds to the number of church sermons. However, this "parity" no longer holds if one stops to consider that every third lecture is not thought to meet contemporary requirements. Alas, we cannot confirm that lectures on moral problems, in their bulk, surpass those which were ridiculed by a satirist: "There, they speak of love, and here—of friendship." Here are the exemplary themes of the church's preaching activity, aimed at the level of believers' ordinary consciousness: duty, justice, conscience, honesty, decency, love of peace, faithfulness, generosity, self-sacrifice, courage, love, friendship, selflessness, labor and creativity, the individual and the collective, the individual and the family, the individual and nature, and belief and disbelief. Thus, it is time for us to turn our focus toward real people, not toward the average atheist, and to speak to them about everyday, human things.

On the other hand, today we are feeling the loss caused by neglecting theory in all areas, including in atheistic upbringing. Recent meetings of scientists with the clergy have shown that there can be no hope that general erudition will "come to the rescue" in those areas where serious theoretical study of problems and fundamental knowledge are required. Yet another lesson of these discussions: today it is hardly expedient to argue about attitudes toward a basic question of philosophy, because the sides long ago and definitively decided this question for themselves. For those who hold to positions of consistent materialism, matter is primary and consciousness is secondary; for churchgoers the world is of divine origin, and the most prolonged discussions, naturally, will not yield any fruitful result. However, some questions do require joint discussion and subsequent joint activities. These involve the solution of common human problems: the protection of peace on earth and the ecology, the preservation and augmentation of our cultural heritage and, of course, the active labor and social activity of believers. In this connection, a dialogue would be necessary, constructive and useful.

Enlivenment of theoretical thinking on atheism is needed today, above all for the profound Marxist analysis of the religious situation and the basic tendencies of its development. Having recognized that the millions of believers of different denominations in our country are a reality, we have been liberated from the optimistic claim that religion has no roots in our society. However, we have still not arrived at a clear understanding of the

reasons for the growing interest in religious ideology among individual population groups. In fact, why has a segment of the intelligentsia been drawn toward religious-philosophical literature and essays by church historians in recent years? Why has youth interest in religion increased? The basic reason lies in the fact that today education and propaganda are not satisfying the people's interest in their own national history and the origins of national culture and are not providing a persuasive answer to questions which worry people, such as the meaning of human existence, happiness, death and immortality. When people, who can relate to the new type of believer or who are simply choosing their own world outlook and moral reference points, cannot get answers to their most urgent questions from atheistic propagandists, they turn to teachers of another doctrine.

Therefore, the problems of religion and atheism should be studied within the broad context of general cultural research in the fields of sociology, philosophy, psychology, the natural sciences and ethics. Our theoreticians are called upon to speak out in the stormy discussions taking place today in newspapers and journals on the subject of literary works which are raising "eternal" questions such as the correlation between general human and religious morals, religion and culture, the spiritual and social emancipation of the individual and his responsibility toward society and the coming generation. Incidentally, let us note that representatives of the creative intelligentsia and masters of culture are virtually not attracted by anti-religious propaganda.

Undoubtedly, propaganda alone does not shape one's world outlook. Daily life is our main teacher. Today, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, daily life speaks "in the honest and frank language of truth and this, probably, is also the best social teacher." Restructuring is opening up broad opportunities for the upbringing of people via participation in social transformations. This means that atheists should constantly adhere to one of the party's program positions, i.e., to be generally guided by the development of the people's labor and social activeness. With regard to believers and labor collectives, we should create a corresponding microclimate: note their successes in labor, encourage them and in no way infringe upon the principle of social justice. Positive experience in work with believers attests to the fact that the main direction is the development of patriotism in the individual, of internationalism and a devotion to the task of building socialism.

This, precisely, was discussed at the seminar-conference of the city's ideological workers, held this February.

Given the overall importance of proper atheistic work, the focus of our activities today should be shifted toward solving the common problems of the socialist community. On this basis, upbringing methods are addressed toward the shaping of a materialistic world outlook. Moscow, a large modern city, gives rise to a number of social and human problems, and at times people who

cannot cope turn to the church for comfort and moral support (incidentally, it is one of the most widespread illusions that the church defends the vital interests of the individual). We shall cite only a few of these problems, which many labor collectives are inclined to consider private and personal, although, beyond a doubt, they lie within the social realm—the adaptation of newcomers to the city, the loneliness of the elderly, family stability, which is lower than in small cities and rural areas, and stressful situations related to transportation and the service sphere. The church has learned to utilize our defects and shortcomings for its own interests, proposing its own solution to the problem: a program of charity, aid to one's fellow man and participation in the fate of each who has turned to the bosom of the church. Party committees, soviet and economic leaders, the aktiv and society should strive for improvements in everyday social conditions for workers. Their concern—the creation of a healthy moral and psychological climate in labor collectives, places of residence, the family and in recreational associations—is of great importance.

Upon beginning work in a specific collective or micro-rayon, atheistic propagandists should, above all, understand upon what the attraction of people, including youth, to the temples is based. On an ideological basis? Or, perhaps, on the fact that the organization of leisure time little satisfies the tastes and interests of youth? Is it possible that the splendor of divine worship is attractive? Speaking of the latter, we cannot avoid the question of our socialist ceremonies as a counterweight to religious ceremonies.

Last year the number of religious rites performed by Muscovites increased. One in every three newborn infants was christened in a church. It is typical that approximately 44 percent of those surveyed in one of the capital's rayons saw no harm in religious rites. Yet another fact: only about 20 percent of those born in Moscow are being registered at an official ceremony. The facts, it seem, speak for themselves. People want the entry of a new Muscovite into life, the birth of a new family and other happy events in life and, alas, the passing from life, to be observed appropriately and ceremoniously, without bringing in elements of uneasiness or, even worse, commercialism. So long as the proper institutions and organizations are not placing this matter on a high, not only professional, but also humane and personal level, the gain cannot be for our side.

It is indicative that, over the past 2 years, only an insignificant number of party raykoms have examined the problems of atheistic upbringing at buro meetings. It would seem that this theme is still urgent for party committees. We must not set aside the main goal—reducing the reproduction of religiousness in the young generation. Therefore, we must go to the schools, PTUs, tekhnikums and VUZs, to help school teachers and teachers maximally utilize the outlook-shaping potential of the disciplines being studied.

Today, we must clearly recognize that any attempts to emancipate believers from religious illusions by administrative and forceful pressure, to whip them into line, will yield the direct opposite of the intended results. The task of raising professionalism and competency in atheistic propaganda is pressing. It is necessary to make atheistic plans and determine the goals and tasks required for shifting all citizens to a position of materialism, firmly planted in the soil of real life. This process is lengthy and a long path of social transformations, which atheists and believers must traverse together, putting our common social ideals into practice, lies ahead.

13362

Jehovah's Witnesses Resist Registration
18000442 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
22 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by Yu.Yurchenko: "If We Were to Act Wisely and Responsibly: What One Would Like to Reply to a Believer's Letter;" first two paragraphs a boldface introduction.]

[Text] A special feature of glasnost and broadening democracy is a dialogue with believers of various denominations and meetings that bring them together with scientists of religion, representatives of the UkSSR Council of Ministers' Council on Religious Affairs, local organs of Soviet power and specialists on ideology. Such meetings in Volyn, Transcarpathian and other oblasts of the republic saw honest discussions about problems that concern both believers and non-believers, as well religious organizations and the state. All this is natural. The time of being silent about acute problems and difficult situations is passed.

In our country, church is separated from state and school from church. Yet, this does not mean that church (or religious organizations) and believers are separated from the society or that they are insulated from processes occurring in it and stand apart from the policies of the socialist state. Both believers and non-believers are equal citizens, equal as far as both their rights and their responsibilities are concerned.

After a meeting with believers calling themselves Jehovah's Witnesses, a letter arrived from a Transcarpathian village Kalina, in Tyachevskiy rayon, written on their behalf by P.T. Matsola. It praised the meetings and discussions that had taken place in the village and in other settlements of the rayon. At the same time, its author touched upon what he termed "painful subjects," i.e., conflicts between the believers of his sect and local authorities.

(For the benefit of uninformed readers, the Jehovah's Witnesses from Kalina, like all believers of that sect in this country, have shunned official registration, which has been the source of many misunderstandings.)

The letter also complained about shortages of Bibles and mentioned that they wanted to order some from the state printing shop or the Brooklyn, U.S., Jehovah's Witnesses center.

(Let us also note here that in recent years the Russian Orthodox Church and Evangelical baptists have received an opportunity to publish the Bible in this country. In Kiev, on the request of the Russian Orthodox Church, a large new edition of the New Testament in Ukrainian is being published.)

Jehovah's Witnesses from Kalina wanted to build a building for their religious meetings... In other words, the letter raised questions calling for a solution according to the letter of the law, as lawyers say. They want to satisfy their religious needs legally.

The author of the letter expressed also the following opinion: "We are convinced that Jehovah's Witnesses' problems, if they continue to be solved one-sidedly, selfishly, will remain unresolved." In principle, he may be right. But let us take a more detailed look at this particular situation.

For approximately 3 years, an open and honest discussion with Jehovah's Witnesses has been under way; it concerns the need to use their constitutional right to register their religious communities and satisfy their religious needs legally on the basis of this. Unfortunately, the first steps toward an interested discussion were difficult. One side lacked not only trust but even an honest desire to discuss a problem whose solution would benefit the believers themselves.

What was, and in many way remains, the obstacle? Suspicion of the true intentions of the authorities that has built up over many years. Predilection for underground, clandestine forms of religious activities which have become almost synonymous with "true religion," "uncompromising attitude toward Caesar," i.e., the authorities, "fidelity to Jehovah," etc. Sometimes, one feels almost embarrassed for some Jehovah's Witnesses who declare, either because they are poorly informed or because they are in the thrall of persistent stereotypes, that "since Christ and his Apostles did not register, they would not either, and Jehovah's organization need not register with Caesar."

They forget—or perhaps do not know, if someone is concealing this fact from them—that in every capitalist country (and now in many socialist ones), the communities of Jehovah's Witnesses are registered, or are registering, in compliance with the laws of the respective country. "The Watchtower Bible and Pamphlet Society," the administrative body of the international center of Jehovah's Witnesses, began its activities more than 100 years ago after registering in 1884 at the Pennsylvania, U.S., Supreme Court.

About 130 chapters of the "Watchtower Bible and Pamphlet Society" exist in bourgeois countries; management of the Brooklyn-based "managing corporation" does not permit them to violate any state laws in the course of their religious activity. Why is there such disrespect for the laws of a socialist state? This question should be posed to the conscience—religious as well as civil—of every Jehovah's Witness.

Today, more and more believers become convinced that there is no insurmountable obstacle to registering their communities so that they could function legally. And why should not it be so? To use the language of the Scriptures, when a lamp is lighted it should not be put under the table, in a secret place or in a cellar, but on a table so that everyone can benefit from its light. What has been holding back Jehovah's Witnesses?

As it turns out, ordinary believers of that religious sect have not had a chance to resolve the question whether or not they should satisfy their needs legally, openly, at peace with their conscience and in compliance with the law of the land. To many readers, such a situation may seem incomprehensible and even absurd. Yet, it is so. Communities of Jehovah's Witnesses do not function according to democratic, self rule-based principles—not only in questions that concern their relations with the authorities but in those of their internal organization. They must unquestioningly obey the Brooklyn "managing corporation." The only principle in force there is that of "theocratic submission:" management from above and submission from below.

Why is it then that the "priests of various ranks," of the "corporation of elders," who have been entrusted by the Brooklyn Center to "watch over the Lord's flock," so to speak, have been passive, have stood aside, have not assumed the responsibility, as shepherds should, for resolving the conflict and helping find a way out of the impasse? Is it possible that they have become wedded to illegal forms of religious practice and accustomed to conspiratorial methods—even though there is not anything here to really hide or to be conspiratorial about; so much so that they would not even think of changing an abnormal situation that hurts believers themselves?

Numerous discussions with believers have convinced us that most of them are honest, peaceful people. But, having dogmatically accepted the principle of "theocratic submission," there is nothing they can do. They defer to the "regional committee" and to the Brooklyn Center. Is there no one who will take a rational position expressed in the famous formula from the Scriptures: give unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's? The former, the latter or both? Is not it time to look at those questions wisely and responsibly?

Glasnost does not allow us to be silent about unseemly attempts to hamper the constructive dialogue between community representatives and Jehovah's Witnesses. There have been attempts to plant the chaff of baseless

doubt: would the state allow believers to set up "Kingdom Halls" (buildings for prayer meetings), to use religious literature, to maintain ties with the managing center, etc., they ask. Some people apparently would like to turn these questions into a stumbling block on the path of normalizing the relations between the state and this religious movement.

What can be said about this? Jehovah's Witnesses are not a "banned sect" in this country, contrary to what some uninformed, or disinformed, persons among believers are trying to convince them. Like any other religious organization, Jehovah's Witnesses have the right and the opportunity to solve questions related to the activity of their organization. The way to do so is in compliance with the USSR Constitution and existing laws. This is no more and no less than other religious organizations have. As to day-to-day questions, they could certainly be solved if there is good will and if people who have an interest in solving them approach them responsibly.

Nevertheless, even though they do not accept a legal status, the leaders of Jehovah's Witnesses still try from time to time to obtain illegally the so called "spiritual nourishment," i.e., literature from Brooklyn, from abroad—which is a violation of the state law. They copy it and send the copies out to believers. They also send reports to foreign affiliates describing their "missionary activity" and secretly meet with envoys from those foreign affiliates of the Brooklyn Center. How could such illegal activities be justified today? It does a disservice to believers. Why then, the above-mentioned lamp is not yet on the table but still under the table. Let religious activities, if they serve spiritual needs of believers and do not conflict with state interests, be conducted legally, sanctioned by the socialist state that is based on the rule of law.

In the years past, all Soviet people, including believers and religious organizations, have experienced the negative effects and various restrictions engendered by the times of personality cult, voluntarism, and stagnation. These phenomena were unequivocally condemned as deviations from the socialist principles. Today, the process of restoring them is under way. This includes Leninist principles of relations with church and believers. A new law on the freedom of conscience is being prepared and it will reflect the interests of religious organizations. "All this," declared Comrade M.S.Gorbachev at a meeting with Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia and members of the Russian Orthodox Church's Synod, "is the true result of the new approach to state-church relations under the conditions of perestroika and democratization of Soviet society."

It seems that one of the reasons keeping Jehovah's Witnesses from starting to satisfy their religious needs in a regular and free manner, in compliance with the Soviet law, have been the psychological postulates of the Brooklyn Center. They could be summarized as follows:

"the current generation is the final one before Magadan;" as "peace and security" is declared "a plague will strike;" "a sudden destruction of all religions" will precede Amageddon. "Who will be responsible for this St. Bartholomew's Night and how it will be done is not left to the imagination: there are transparent descriptions of the apocalyptic "crimson beast," identified as the U.N. or even with "some non-Christian and atheist member states of the U.N." It is a political, rabble-raising and anticommunist myth.

Apparently, such postulates can, among other things, offset the goodwill of some Jehovah's Witnesses, obscure their rational thinking, prevent them from correctly assessing the foreseeable future and destroy the desire to hold a realistic position in life. The "spiritual nourishment" supplied by the Brooklyn "management corporation" encourages fatalism, social pessimism and an apocalyptic mood among the portion of believers who accept it as "Jehovah's revelations." And, living by the apocalyptic calendar of the "final generation" may cause indifference and unwillingness to normalize relations between a religious organization and the state (especially if that state is equated with the "leading part of the crimson beast—the grave digger of religion").

Yet, the chronology of the "final generation" produces no particular apocalyptic mood in its authors, i.e., the "managing corporation" at the Brooklyn Center of Jehovah's Witnesses. In Brooklyn, very ambitious plans for "expanding business the world over" are being developed and implemented, which entails large-scale entrepreneurial, rehabilitative and missionary activity. The headquarters of the main corporation and its affiliates in various countries are being modernized, new editorial offices and printing plants planned and many long-term projects implemented.

In short, in Brooklyn they think little of the "final generation." We mention this only because meetings and discussions with Jehovah's Witnesses have shown that few of them know this. But here we have perhaps touched upon subjects that are the prerogative of the "big brothers," of those whom their Christian calling has invested with the task of watching over their neighbors and serving their spiritual needs. Perhaps a lot will depend on how those people act: one-sidedly and selfishly or wisely and responsibly.

This is why questions raised in the letter of Kalina's believer seem important to us. Finding a solution to them presents no insurmountable difficulty if one does not violate Soviet laws, but acts in the spirit of realism and goodwill.

Public Opinion Wants Batumi Oil Refinery Closed

18130419 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian 21 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by GRUZINFORM special correspondent Tengiz Grigalashvili: "The Past Calls To the Present"]

[Text] As they go to work, the five young men, natives of the revived village of Udabno, probably follow the same route traversed more than a thousand years ago by other natives of these parts when they were building the incomparable Davit Garedzha monastery complex.

Davit Garedzha...Restoration work is underway here now. A small group of workers under the direction of Works Supervisor Gia Khurtsilava is carefully, step by step, examining the significance of every single fragment of the buildings in order to restore them to their original form later on.

"It is exceptionally difficult to do restoration work on such an important project," said the works supervisor. "It's a big responsibility, but I am convinced, nevertheless, that any construction engineer would be proud of the assignment which we are carrying out. Later on, when the work really gets underway, a special construction sector [uchastok] will be organized here. We also intend to make the Georgian bricks, which are the main building materials, right here. When the project design is ready, the construction area will include Daviti Monastery [lavra], the Udabno monasteries, Bertubani, Chichkhituri, and others. A large part of the work, in fact, will have to be done without any special engineering preparation, because building access roads to all of the sites would require disrupting the unique harmony of these architectural monuments, which as you can see constitute an organic part of the landscape."

The workday last Saturday started off in an unusual manner. Early in the morning near the monastery you could hear military officers' crisp commands as soldiers stood at attention in the ranks. The soldiers came here to take part in the Subbotnik along with students from the VUZes of Tbilisi.

"As soon as they found out that work on restoring the monument was starting," said officer N. Zozulia, "our Komsomol members decided to help the builders. They got in touch with the students, who are their own age, and together they mapped out the work front. It's hard to overestimate the importance of this kind of effort in the soldiers' patriotic upbringing. Encountering the cultural heritage of their past gives them a clear understanding of their mission, which is not only to defend their Motherland's present but also her past—and we all have just one Motherland: the Soviet Union."

Nikoloz Viktorovich Zozulia was right: the cultural monuments which have been created on national soil always become the property of all citizens. That is why Sr

Lt E. Karimov brought his platoon to the walls of the Daviti Monastery. He recently returned from Afghanistan, where he performed his internationalist duty and has been nominated to be awarded the Order of the Red Banner for his service in combat. Many are the times he led his unit on the offensive there, fighting side by side with R. Beradze, G. Mutalimov, M. Yusupov, I. Maksimov, and others. Now this soldier, eager to take part in peaceful labor, has enthusiastically taken up the shovel and is again leading his platoon into the fray. Toiling side by side here at the walls of the ancient cathedral are Oleg Shurgin from beyond the Urals and Yustaf Isayev from Uzbekistan, Vladimir Torgovtsev from Moscow and Algam Askerov from Azerbaijan, Aramais Goroyan from Yerevan and Linda Normund from Lithuania.

Today's soldiers and students have a great deal in common, much to talk about, shared interests. Many of the students were only recently discharged from the army, while some of the young men wearing army fatigues are former students.

The participants in the subbotnik, who could scarcely conceal their excitement, were met by staffers of the Davit Garedzha Museum under the leadership of the museum's director Ilo Kvlivdze, who has been guarding these masterpieces of Georgian architecture for 13 years now. All kinds of things have happened during that time, both happy and sad. Not all of it has been a disappointment. Under the hot sun of that semi-arid region Ilo Kvlivdze has walked several dozen kilometers [sic] in making the rounds of the bright stone pages of the people's history which have been entrusted to him. He has stood long hours in front of the unique 11th- and 12th-century frescoes of the Udabno Monastery in order to commune with the miraculous harmony of Bertubani and Natlismtsemeli.

"The work got underway immediately after the publication of the recent decree of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers," said Ilo Kvlivdze. "That act broke the thousand-year silence that had reigned in the architectural monuments of Davit Garedzha. These monuments have gained reliable masters and patrons in our young people. The land around the monastery has already been cleared, and a protective zone has been set up."

Indeed, the military servicemen and students coming to take part in the subbotnik at Daviti Monastery found a number of volunteers who had been working there since the day before, students Tamaz Gudushauri, Kote Gabrichidze, Giorgi Maglakelidze, and other members of the Monument Protection Association.

"Without the public's help, of course, it will be hard to cope with such a large amount of monument restoration work," said Teimuraz Abramishvili, head of a group of scientific-planning architects. "A preliminary study of the complex has shown that we will have to work under very difficult conditions in restoring some of the sites. In

order to enter the Udabno Monastery, for example, we will have to climb a steep slope, at the foot of which is Daviti Monastery. It is impossible to do any earth-moving work there, because that would endanger the monument and ruin the original landscape. For this reason, we are thinking of building a temporary cableway to transport the building materials.

"The slopes of the Garedzha Range are covered with cultural monuments, many of which are masterpieces of Georgian architecture. To what extent will they be affected by the present program of restoration?" the students asked Teimuraz Abramishvili during an impromptu press conference after a short break.

"A detailed study of all of the plans is currently underway. The project we are working on in fact has to encompass not only the restoration of all of the sites but also the creation of a national park in this region which will have the appropriate legal status. So far, however, all that has been completed is the architectural part of the Udabno Monastery's Ascension Church project. We have a lot of long-term and strenuous work ahead of us."

And now the great work is underway. Komsomol members and young people of the 1980s, under the supervision of Georgian Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary Dzh. Margvelidze, are laboring carefully and lovingly. Soldiers, students, officers, and Komsomol leaders worked side by side and had lunch. After work, everyone went to the stadium and played soccer.

06854

Young Settlers Near Old Georgian Monument Profiled

*18130420 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in
Georgian 21 Apr 88 p 2*

[Article by Bondo Kurdadze: "One Swallow Which Can Make a Spring"]

[Text] On Saturday morning, several busses rolled up to the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee building. There have been subbotniks when we planted trees and cleaned up monuments....There have been many and there will be more, but I have never seen young people so enthusiastic and joyous....

"Our association will coordinate work on monument conservation and restoration," said Gela Dumbadze, a philology student at Tbilisi State University and head of the newly created Restorer [restavrator] Monument Protection Association, as he went on to tell me about the work to be done.

We arrived at Davit Garedzha at nine o'clock. The students separated into groups. Everyone knew exactly what he had to do. Some of them hauled dirt away in wheelbarrows, some of them cleaned the walls....

During a break, five soldiers left their group and came toward us.

"Are you Georgians?" one of us asked them.

"Yes, we are; we are serving in Nakhichevan," the boys told us as they introduced themselves:

Paata Maglakelidze and Malkhaz Kveladze are from Zestafoni, Vepkhia Surishvili is from Tsiteltskaro Rayon, Giorgi Ginturi is from Tbilisi, and Ramaz Goderdzishvili is from Sagaredzho.

"Before I was drafted I often went to the Davit Garedzha Monastery. I have visited every cave several times. What more could a soldier want than this? My friend and I never dreamed we'd get the chance to work in our home district. I have six months to go before I come home. Today at the Garedzha Monastery us boys promised each other that we will gather together a year from now at my place and come here to work for seven days," said Ramaz.

Irakli Makharadze is a Tbilisi boy. An ordinary Tbilisi boy. Like me and like you, he loves the theater, movies, video....Four years ago the 24-year-old youngster and his wife decided to go to Davit Garedzha, but they met with opposition. His parents could not understand what was wrong with their youngest son....Four years have passed since then. Irakli has sons and daughters of his own. They are Garedzhians, real Garedzhians. The oldest is three years old, the youngest 18 months. Not a day goes by without Irakli looking in on the monastery, early in the morning before the children wake up. It's that way all the time....Irakli Makharadze lives in Davit Garedzha. He lives and works there. Perhaps he is the first swallow which can make a spring.

Special equipment has now been installed in the long-suffering Davit Garedzha complex. Instruments accurately record every small tremor or jolt. Well-known scientists are working on the problem.

Our generation has itself become the creator and chronicler of the Davit Garedzha complex's new life, which will extend into eternity.

06854

GSSR CP CC Discusses Preservation of David Garedzha Monastery Complex

18000340a Tblisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian
9 Apr 88 p 1

[GRUZINFORM report: "In the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia" Georgian CP Central Committee]

[Excerpts] An expanded session of the Georgian CP Central Committee Buro, considering the question of fundamental improvement in preserving the monuments

of the David Garedzha Historical and Architectural Complex, was attended by the following: D. I. Patiashvili; V. I. Alavidze; O. G. Vardzelashvili; G. N. Yenukidze; A. N. Inauri; K. A. Kochetov; B. V. Nikolsky; O. Ye. Cherkeziya; V. G. Lordkipanidze, Chief, Culture Department, Georgian CP Central Committee; architect T. Sh. Abramishvili, Supervisor, Scientific Design Group; G. G. Gaprindashvili, Speliology Laboratory Chief, Georgian State Museum; Ye. L. Privalova, Supervisory Scientific Worker, Institute of History of Georgian Art; Academician A. M. Alakidze, Secretary, Social Science Department, Academy of Sciences, Georgian SSR; N. S. Amaglobeli, Head, Tbilisi State University; M. A. Mezvrishvili, First Secretary, Sagaredzho Raykom, Georgian CP; G. Ya. Alshibaya, First Deputy, Main Scientific and Production Administration for the Preservation and Use of Natural, Historical, and Cultural Monuments at the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers; and N. A. Popkhadze, editor of "Kommunisti."

Considering the unique significance of the David Garedzha architectural complex, its poor state of repair, and the decision made by the USSR Ministry of Defense to cease conducting gunnery practice on the complex premises, it was noted that the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers set aside from the reserve fund a sum for use in 1988 as capital investment by the Main Scientific and Production Administration for the Preservation and Use of Natural, Historical, and Cultural Monuments at the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, in the amount of 250,000 rubles, which is intended to initiate construction of a training facility for the Transcaucasian Military District headquarters in another area in place of the facilities surrendered in the vicinity of the Natlismtse-meli landmark.

It was also noted that the district headquarters issued an order for continuing preservation of the David Garedzha landmark and cleaning up the area, also making provision for permanent monitoring of troop exercises and artillery gunnery practice.

The Sagaredzho Rayispolkom, jointly with the headquarters of the Military District Training Ground, are charged with cleaning up the Udabnoyskiy Sovnarkhoz pastureland and adjacent areas.

The Main Scientific and Production Administration for the Preservation and Use of Natural, Historical, and Cultural Monuments at the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, jointly with the State Committee for Environmental Protection and the republic Ministry of Culture, are charged with providing by the end of the year a list of suggestions relative to the creation and operation of a national park on the premises of the David Garedzha Historical and Architectural Complex. The Administration is also charged, jointly with the ispolkom of the Sagaredzho Raysovet of People's Deputies and the Kakhetinskiy Archeological Expedition of the Archeology Center, Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences, to provide by 1 June 1988 a proposal for setting up a zone for the

Naomari Gora in Udabno, related to the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C. A special station for design and restoration work should be created here to serve the entire David Garezh complex. The ispolkom of the Sagaredzho Raysovet of People's Deputies is charged with erecting in the new few years a wire fence around the facilities of the Naomari Gora archeological landmark of at least 10,000 running meters in length, and initiating the construction of roads leading to David's Lavra and Natlismtsemeli.

The Institute of Structural Mechanics and Seismic Stability and the Institute of Geophysics of the Georgian SSR Academy of Sciences are to carry out seismic observations of damage to the principal structures and adjacent areas on the David Garezh complex.

Staffing has been approved for a Committee for Monitoring of the Preservation and Restoration of the complex, which is charged with publishing reports at semi-annual intervals detailing the progress of work undertaken.

Also noted was an order issued by the Georgian SSR Ministry of Culture creating a monitoring group for the David Garezh museum. This Ministry is charged, jointly with the Main Scientific and Production Administration for the Preservation and Use of Natural, Historical, and Cultural Monuments at the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, the Georgian Monument Protection Society, and the Committee for Problems Relating to Enforcement of Preservation and Restoration of the David Garezh Complex, to set up there a system of permanent monitoring stations, with the added function of enlisting the aid of students. In addition, close collaboration is called for with the Military District Training Ground headquarters.

It is suggested that the Georgian SSR Ministry of Finance set aside the sum of 100,000 rubles annually to be used by the Main Scientific and Production Administration for the Preservation and Use of Natural, Historical, and Cultural Monuments at the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers specifically for maintenance, preservation, and repair work on the David Garezh complex.

In drawing up plans for economic and social development of the republic for 1989-1990, the Gosplan of the Georgian SSR must make available to the Main Scientific and Production Administration for the Preservation and Use of Natural, Historical, and Cultural Monuments the capital investment funds required to start construction of the museum and two standard buildings to be located in Bertubani and Sabereyebi.

The Goskomizdat of the Georgian SSR is publishing a book of color illustrations of the David Garezh landmark, while the Georgian SSR Goskino is producing a documentary film in color featuring this complex.

The Bureau of the Georgian CP Central Committee has taken a number of other steps intended to effect substantial improvement in protecting the monuments of the David Garezh Historical and Architectural Complex and its use in the interests of patriotic education of workers.

13005

Round Table Discussion Between Krishnas, University Students Noted

*18000340h Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian
28 May 88 p 4*

[Armenpress report: "At a 'Round Table'"]

[Text] An unusual "round table" discussion was held in the republic House of Atheism. Scholars and students from the Yerevan State University invited members of the Krishna religious sect—people who believe in and preach the Krishna religious teachings.

However, in a few minutes the conversation became heated. Questions flew from both sides: "What do you believe in?" "What purpose does your life serve?" "Become a materialist!" "We have the right to believe in whatever we choose." Nonetheless, the students felt that there still remains the question of one's standing as a citizen, of the passive and socially useless life the sectarians lead. There is Krishnaism's insistence that adherents practice complete isolation, refuse to perform socially useful work, observe commandments without question, and carry out religious rituals, which can cost a person several hours a day.

The scholars tried to change the sectarians' minds by pointing out the utter absurdity of their religiosity, all the while keeping in mind their aspirations, realizing that after all there is humanity and compassion in Krishnaism: help your neighbor; do not kill; do not drink; do not smoke. However, it is strange that today, living in a world of scientific and technical progress, it is possible to adhere to subjective idealism and not simply believe in God, but in addition live in accordance with his teachings, offering oneself and the welfare of one's family in sacrifice.

The argument continued for some time, but the participants did not come to a meeting of the minds.

"You cannot have everything all at once," explained House of Atheism director R. Petrosyan. "Continuous purposeful work based on conversations and exchange of ideas will undoubtedly bring positive results." This was not our first meeting. We recently had a similar conversation with Seventh Day Adventists.

13005

International Jurists' Forum Meets in Moscow
18000440 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 Jun 88 p 3

[Article by V. Mikheyev: "Fruitful Dialog: International Forum of Jurists in Moscow"]

[Text] **Peace, human rights and international economic cooperation were the subjects of a conference organized by the International Association of Jurists and the Association of Soviet Jurists, which ended its work in Moscow. About 400 Soviet and 300 foreign jurists took part in the conference.**

Four concrete problems, namely, foreign trade, inheritance law, international arbitration, and peace and human rights were discussed.

The chairman of the Association of Soviet Jurists, Procurator-General of the USSR, A.Ya. Sukharev had stressed in his speech that Soviet jurists consider the protection of restructuring of the Soviet society at the legislative level to be the core of their activities.

He also said that an election law securing the principles of Soviet pluralism is important for the political system of the Soviet society. However, it is no less important to introduce a real content into the legislative statutes concerning rights and freedoms of the Soviet citizens and to increase the guarantees of their realization in practice. The court practice itself is being essentially changed into the direction of real humanism.

The leading scientist of the Institute of State and Law at the USSR Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Juridical Sciences, A.A. Rubanov commented that the jurisprudence penetrates all areas of activity from space research to artificial re-creation of human life which replaces motherhood. As a result, the role and responsibilities of lawyers increase. This is one of the reasons that the Moscow forum, first of its kind, had brought together such famous names in jurisprudence. Another reason is the international effect of restructuring in the USSR.

Interdependence becomes a universal phenomenon. It was confirmed at the meeting dedicated to the problems of inheritance law. In 1973 in Washington, D.C., a group of specialists including Soviet jurists had developed a draft of Convention on a uniform law for a will form. Thirty-six States participated in this work; it was difficult to find common ground, but this was achieved. True, the Convention is not widely implemented into life. However, the U.S. Federal Government recommended it for introduction as an interior law. Five American states had already adopted it.

Jeffrey Hertzfeld, one of the partners of an international law firm which for 20 years has consulted companies interested in the Soviet market noted that he had an opportunity to be present at the reception honoring the 11th annual meeting of the members of the US-USSR Council on Trade and Economics (ASTES), where M.S. Gorbachev spoke about the growing interdependence of states, which, in Mr. Hertzfeld's opinion, promises substantial benefits for the East-West dialog. According to his words, Soviet businessmen supported by their new rights secured in the new laws, adopt the most valuable aspects of foreign experience. For example, a representative of Moscow's public food catering services saw in the fact of signing a contract with McDonald's not a widening of the restaurant network, but an opened opportunity of gaining an access to the American "production concept," that is, to the so-called know-how.

What did change the thinking of economy managers? In the opinion of those who participated in the work of the foreign trade section, allowing the right of entering the world's market to single enterprises, new rights guaranteed by the USSR Law on the State enterprise, decentralization, orientation toward products of quality comparable with the world's standards rather than toward fulfilling "gross product" plans, development of cooperatives, and the concept of joint enterprises and ventures, played a role in this change.

The complex of problems concerning humanitarian cooperation and human rights remains one of the painful spots in international relations.

The Chief of the OVIR at the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, R.A. Kuznetsov, telling about the new tendencies in the emigration policy of the USSR noted that formalities had been simplified and many restrictions had been abolished. Approximately 400 persons (less than 1 percent) were temporarily refused exit visas for reasons mainly connected with protection of military and economic secrets. In the USA, for the same reasons 15-20 percent of those who want to leave the country are not permitted to do so.

Jurists are exactly the people who may find common grounds between different positions and improve the legal status of a person based on the accumulated positive experience in both bourgeois and socialist countries. At the same time they can perceive the imperative that today the narrow national interpretation of human rights falls back to the background and the priority is given to the values common to all mankind. This was one of the leitmotifs of the jurists' conference, which will demonstrate its practical value during the development of a dialog among states with different social systems.

13355

Writer Defends Remarks on Central Asian Nationalities Issues

*18/20087 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English
No 24, 19-26 Jun 88 p 2*

[Article by Timur Pulatov; for previous reporting on this subject, see the FBIS DAILY REPORT: SOVIET UNION, FBIS-SOV-88-070, dated 12 April 1988, pages 56-57; and FBIS-SOV-88-074, dated 18 April 1988, pages 74-76; first paragraph introductory comment]

[Text] The article "Running Ahead of the Cart" by writer Timur Pulatov was published in "MN" No. 14. Today the writer comments on the letters he received in response.

I must confess that not a single one of my articles recently published in the press brought as many comments, differing judgments, and even simply wrong interpretations as did this one. The mass media both here (KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA) and abroad displayed interest in the article. Employees of the BBC and ABC TV networks, and a correspondent of the Swedish Radio in Moscow, who with professional meticulousness wished to know where a "second Karabakh" might crop up, all approached me.

That there must not be a "second Karabakh," or else it will be the undoing of perestroyka, is the overriding theme of responses from various corners of our country. "It's no coincidence that Andreyeva's article, which has rightly been called 'the platform of conservative forces,' appeared at a time when passions around Karabakh were still running high," notes V. Danelyuk, an engineer from Kiev. "History knows of cases when retreating forces tried to take revenge by playing on international tensions."

Many agree with the notion that international tensions quite often appear due to obsolescent dogma, by which local ideologists are guided, and their incompetence and inability to work with people by means of persuasion and open discussions. "Many of our misfortunes are also the result of not knowing each other," writes Muscovite S. Nenasheva. "I, for example, know more about the morals and customs of the French from the books of Hugo, Stendhal and Sand than about the Uzbeks and Tajiks with whom we live." Like other readers, she proposes establishing a USSR Academy of Nations, with branches in all the Union Republics, which would study both the past history and contemporary life of each nation—the Russian nation included—and the particulars of our national characters, so that we could better learn in what ways we are different and in what ways alike.

Many agree with the idea put forth in my article that the lack of statistics on various aspects of international relations does little to unite us. And there are those (A. Khariton from Kiev and A. Shalomayev from Odessa) who reproach me for not mentioning the question of the emigration of ethnic Germans and Jews. They say that

under Khrushchev and Brezhnev, the authorities frequently changed their position concerning the emigration of Jews, Germans and Armenians. It used to be that on the eve of a "summit," the number of permits for emigration would increase, but afterwards various pretexts would be invented to again limit their issue, as if people were being made "hostages" of international detente. True, under Mikhail Gorbachev, when policy is taking a more moral turn, the situation is changing, but still, the lack both of complete glasnost and statistics relating to this question are generating rumours, idle talks and unnecessary "excesses."

Yes, we need complete glasnost not only about the number of persons who ask for permission to leave the USSR, but also about the number of Crimean Tatars who wish to return to the Crimea. By the way, the Crimean Tatars now living in Uzbekistan discussed "Running ahead of the cart" at their meetings and different opinions were expressed. But they were unanimous about one thing—what is needed are endurance and common sense, which will clear the way for a just solution to a whole host of questions.

The article's "Central Asian" theme generated varied response. N. Akhmadshoyev from Dushanbe, supporting the idea that international tensions must be removed above all through cultural development, declares that the roots of such tension should be looked for in the national-territorial division of Central Asia. This division was made in the 30's, based on instructions from the "leader of the nations" without taking into consideration the enormity of historical traditions, culture and language. Stalin's perfidy, it would appear, was most completely expressed in the principle "divide and rule." Because, after all, there had to be some reason for the Uzbeks to regard some areas of Kazakhstan as "their own," and the Tajiks—some cities outside of Tajikistan as "theirs." N. Akhmadshoyev finds fault with the places in my article which say that a reconsideration of the established borders is not the way out, given the situation which has taken shape, and he calls me a "cosmopolite" because I don't single out the problem of a separate Central Asian nation, but instead speak about all of them.

This is also an appropriate place to mention the item in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. On 1 April, the paper published a piece which, among other things, distorted my article in MN. Apparently, when I spoke about the resettlement of the Kara-Kalpaks from the lower reaches of the Amu-Darya, I was "playing the hypocrite," because supposedly there can be no such resettlement. I wouldn't have paid any attention to this item had it not resulted in an intolerable reaction from some readers of the youth paper. V. Alexandrov, from Magadan, appealed to the Procurator's Office of the Uzbek SSR demanding to call me to account for "exciting national strife," adding to his statement a clipping from KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

I'm not going to argue over the problems of the Aral; I'll merely provide two quotes. S. Zalygin in the journal ZVEZDA VOSTOKA (No. 4, 1988), addressing the Ministry of Land Improvement and Water Conservation, asks: "Who has essentially killed a whole Republic—Kara-Kalpakia—for good by turning its land into a swamp and injecting it full of salt?" And A. Prigozhin, in PRAVDA, May 13, 1988, says: "This is northern Kara-Kalpakia.... Even after the war, the Mulnak District (it was then called Maritime) had a population of 44,000. Now it has 25,000. No work is left..." This is in answer to the question about Kara-Kalpaks leaving their native land.

I'll end with a quote from N. Gogua's letter from Kutaisi: "Yes, we still have a long way to go before we'll learn how to be respectful and patient towards each other. Even just a hint of something and there immediately come shouts: nationalist! zionist! anti-Semite! We must get rid of insulting accusations once and for all. We citizens of all nationalities need to find a reasonable and just solution to all international problems which life puts in our way."

/08309

**Widening Tajik-Uzbek Ideological, Linguistic,
Economic Points of Contact Listed**

*18300321a Dushanbe KOMMUNIST
TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 14 Jun 88 p 1*

[Two-part article under rubric "Contacts Are Expanding": "Uzbekistan-Tajikistan" and "Tajikistan-Uzbekistan"]

[Text]With every passing year, the economic, scientific and cultural ties between the two fraternal republics have been developing. It is planned to have mutual aid in the area of public education and public health, in the improvement of pastures and of land and water resources, and in environmental protection. There has been an expansion of the reciprocal exchanges of literature, textbooks and teaching aids in the national languages of our republics.

Uzbekistan-Tajikistan

Studies are currently under way to determine the possibility of organizing transmissions in the Tajik language by the Surkhan-Darya Oblast Radio Broadcasting System, and by the local broadcasting offices in rayons where large numbers of Tajiks live—Samarkandskiy (village); Kasansayskiy (Namangan Oblast); Sariasyskiy, Baysunskiy (Surkhan-Darya Oblast); Rishtanskiy (Fergana Oblast); Dekhkanabadskiy (Kashka-Darya Oblast); and certain others.

A rayon newspaper will open in Rishtanskiy Rayon. In Sariasyskiy, Baysunskiy, and Kasansayskiy rayons it is planned to duplicate the rayon newspapers in Tajik-language editions. In Shafirkanskiy and Dekhkanabadskiy rayons the newspapers will print a single page in Tajik.

In order to improve the instruction and education of children it is planned to increase the training of cadres of Tajik-language teachers at Samarkand State University, Bukhara and Samarkand pedagogical institutes, and the Kasansay, Samarkand, and Chust pedagogical schools. Departments of the methodology of instructing the Tajik language and literature are being created at Samarkand State University and Pedagogical Institute, and an instructional methodology council for Tajik language is being created under UzSSR Ministry of Education.

The statute governing the holding of pedagogical readings and Olympic Games for schoolchildren will be reconsidered and Tajik-language methodology associations will be organized. The question of organizing, in schools and children's preschool institutions, classes and groups with Tajik language of instruction is being considered.

Interoblast refresher and retraining courses for teachers in Tajik schools will be opened under the Bukhara and Samarkand oblast teacher refresher-training institutes.

It is planned to have a regular exchange of experience in the restructuring of the ideological work of the party committees, and of lecturer groups; to make it a regular practice to have creative temporary assignments for workers in the republic newspapers and information agencies; to carry out monitoring of and provide ideological support for the fulfillment of plans for reciprocal shipments by the enterprises in the two republics; and to prepare and publish a joint monograph by scientists of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan on the most important problems in the history of Central Asia. The republics will exchange student construction detachments during their work semester and will hold students' amateur arts and crafts festivals at higher educational institutions.

In Tashkent, Samarkand, and Bukhara it is planned to hold on a regular basis Tajikistan culture days, as well as literary meetings. Similar days and meetings of literary and artistic figures of Uzbekistan will be held in Dushanbe, Leninabad, and Kurgan-Tyube. There will be an expanded volume of translation and publication of the best models of fictional and scientific literature by Tajik authors in Uzbekistan.

Businesslike interrelations are being established between the book-trade organizations in the two republics with the purpose of having them provide the library network with literature in the national languages. In Uzbekistan it has been decided to publish annually an almanac of the best works of authors writing in the Tajik language. The first such collection will be published this year.

Tajikistan-Uzbekistan

The share of the Central Asian republics (according to 1985 data) is approximately 18 percent of the products shipped into Tajikistan and 16 percent of the products shipped out. The first place in Tajikistan's economic exchange is occupied by Uzbek SSR (13 percent of output shipped into Tajikistan, 11 percent shipped out).

The basic volume of exchange is for industrial output. Tajikistan, for example, ships to Uzbek and Turkmen SSR the carbamide produced by the Vakhsh Nitrogen Fertilizers Plant. And cotton-picking combines created at Tashelmash are operating on the fields of Tajik SSR.

For many years the neighboring republics have been rendering each other assistance in providing electrical energy. Today Leninabad Oblast receives from its fraternal republic approximately 4 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical energy a year. On the other hand, some of Tajikistan's electrical energy is being transferred to neighboring Surkhan-Darya Oblast. Its volume has increased from 300,000 kilowatt-hours in 1964 to 2 billion kilowatt-hours in 1987.

Starting in 1977, after the activation of capacities at the Nurek GES, electrical energy has been transmitted over the 500-kilovolt Regar-Guzar electrical-transmission line, over which, during those years, more than 24 billion kilowatt-hours have been transmitted.

The Tadzhikgeologiya Production Association, over a period of many years, has been carrying out geological prospecting operations to reinforce and expand the raw-materials base at the deposits of the Altan-Topkanskaya group for the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgical Combine imeni V. I. Lenin.

Tashkent specialists have been rendering technical assistance on the basis of economic contracts to construction workers of Tajikistan in carrying out tests of clays and porous clay fillers for cement and in remodeling existing plants and building new ones for the production of building materials.

The Tashkent Scientific-Research Planning and Design Technical Institute of the Cable Industry, jointly with Tajik Polytechnical Institute, has developed and is introducing at the Dushanbe Cable Plant an automatic constant-monitoring system that makes it possible to guarantee the high quality of output during the process of its production.

In the postgraduate departments at the higher educational institutions and scientific-research institutions of Uzbekistan, 24 persons from Tajik SSR have received or are currently receiving their education.

At institutions of higher learning in Tashkent, specialists from Tajikistan are receiving training in handling a single system of electronic computers and multiprocess computer complexes.

The publishing houses in Tajikistan annually publish the most important works of Uzbek authors. In 1988 they published Tajik translations of books by famous Uzbek writers—"That Unusual Day," by Khodzhiakbar Shaykhov and "Tales From the Past," by Abdullo Kakhkhar—and a collection of stories by Utkur Khashimov. On the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Niyazi Khamza, a collection of his dramatic works, entitled "My Wreath," was prepared.

"Golden Autumn," a collection of poems by poetess Zulfiya will be published within a few days. The republic's best poetic efforts were involved in translating this book into Tajik.

Approximately 50,000 copies of textbooks for schools with Uzbek language of instruction are published annually by the Maorif Publishing House.

The greatest success at the recent Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR arts festival that was recently held in Tajikistan was achieved by UzSSR Honored Performing Artist A. Atadzhanov and the Lazgi Ensemble. An equally warm reception was shown at the same time to a troupe from Tajik Academic Theater of Drama imeni A. Lakhuti, which gave guest performances in Samarkand Oblast, and to a performance of "Dear Yelena Seregeyevna" that was given by State Russian Drama Theater imeni V. I. Mayakovskiy in Tashkent.

Starting on 1 July, one page of the NURI ILICH Ilichevskiy Rayon newspaper will be printed in Uzbek. This is the twelfth rayon newspaper being published in Tajik and Uzbek. The KHAKIKATI KURGONTEPPA and KHAKIKATI LENINOBOD oblast newspapers are publishing one page each in Tajik.

Uzbek is the third language in which discussions are conducted at sessions and in permanent commissions, and at sessions of the Presidium of the republic's Supreme Soviet. Supreme Soviet documents are also published in the three languages.

5075

Motives for Demonstration in Vilnius Questioned
18000532a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian
24 May 88 p 3

[Unsigned article: "Who Needs This?"]

[Text] Many of the republic's inhabitants and guests who found themselves in the center of town Sunday in the vicinity of Gediminas Square were unpleasantly struck

by the sight of a group, gesturing wildly, clearly attempting to attract attention. It turned out that this was how a group of citizens decided to commemorate the anniversary of the 1948 deportation of Lithuanian inhabitants.

It would appear that these people had assembled to express their opinion on a question which concerned them, a normal phenomenon these days. But, all the same, this gathering had an entirely different subtext. It was as if it had been organized to spite those who had gathered for the rally the day before, on Saturday, at the monument to Z. Angaretis, to commemorate the memory of the victims of Stalin's cult of personality and his minions.

The rally organized jointly by the republic's creative unions and other public organizations was attended by thousands of Vilnius residents. These were people of different generations, different views, but the sorrow imprinted on the faces of the young and old was the same, and the thought that this must never be repeated was common to all. Without exaggeration, it can be said that these were minutes of unity, of a shared revived memory, of collective thought about what had passed.

It is precisely this, apparently, which goes against the grain for those who are not so much concerned about the history of their native land, of their own people, as about the political capital which they can accrue in the West, passing themselves off as champions of truth. Why should they grieve along with everyone else, when it is difficult to attract attention to oneself that way. Better on one's own, and, yes, even more desirable, with a big to-do, so that there would be something to provide to foreign "radio voices." Those who gathered in Gediminas Square on Sunday did not get permission from the local organs for holding a meeting, in as much as this requires a corresponding resolution from the city executive committee. That is why the representatives of the law enforcement organs advised those who had gathered to leave.

One could consider the issue closed if it were not for a series of questions which involuntarily came to mind after the Sunday gathering. Who were these people who found it necessary to set themselves in opposition to all the honorable citizens, representatives of various nationalities, who together at the rally on Sunday had honored the memory of Stalin's victims? Do the organizers of the gathering in Gediminas Square truly have an interest in the past and future of our country or is their goal to sow dissension between people, distrust toward the processes of democratization and glasnost which are currently taking place? All the same, the thought comes to mind that they value neither our common undertaking, nor our shared holy anguish.

UD/mc

New Lithuanian Cardinal Comments on Goals

18000532b [Editorial Report] Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 2 June 1988 on page 3 carried a 200 word ELTA report on Pope John Paul II's naming Bishop Vincentas Sladkevicius, chairman of the Bishop's Conference of the Lithuanian Catholic Church and apostolic administrator of the Kaisiadoris bishopric, as cardinal. Reached by telephone, and asked by the ELTA correspondent if he had anything to add to his recent comments at a meeting with leading workers of Soviet Lithuania to the effect that everyone bears an obligation to make a large contribution to the moral education of the people, Cardinal Sladkevicius said that the best continuation of his earlier comments would be our actions and our harmony. He went on to state that we must all be concerned with moral foundations, our conduct and our life must be manifestations of this. Cardinal Sladkevicius answered in the affirmative when the correspondent also asked whether the recent open and purposeful dialogue between state authorities and church representatives should be raised to a higher level and acquire new forms and if the new cardinal was determined to make a more active contribution toward this.

UD/mc

Lithuania's Former First Secretary Honored

18000532c [Editorial Report] Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian on 5 June 1988 carried on page 1 a 100-word report on the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers decree to honor the memory of P. Grishkyavichus, member of the CPSU Central Committee, deputy of the USSR and Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviets and first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, by naming a secondary school in Rokiskiy rayon and a fishing boat of a Lithuanian fish industry production association after him. The Vilnius gorispolkom was directed to erect a memorial tablet on the house in Ciurlionis Street in Vilnius where Grishkyavichus lived and to erect a headstone on his grave. Other plans in honor of Grishkyavichus' memory include a book of reminiscences, a film about his life and a museum exhibit devoted to his life and achievements. UD/mc

USSR Justice Minister Visits Lithuania

18000533a [Editorial Report] Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian on 12 June 1988 carried on page 1 a 200-word report on the 10-12 June visit to Lithuania by B. Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice. Kravtsov met with R. Songaila, the first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, V. Astrauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, and P. Kuris, the Lithuanian minister of

justice. Work of law enforcement organs under conditions of perestroika and the intensification of glasnost and democracy were discussed. Kravtsov went on to answer questions at a meeting of the Sauliai rayon election district.

UD/mc

Officials Reprimanded for Destruction of Lithuanian Cultural Monuments

18000533b [Editorial Report] Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian on 25 June 1988 carried on page 1 a 500-word report entitled "At the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers," which stated that during the construction of housing in the historical section of the city of Trakai, graves and ruins of structures were unearthed in a location which had been insufficiently studied by archeologists and which was right next to some archeological monuments. The Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers ordered that S. Naktinis, chairman of the Trakai city ispolkom, be relieved of his duties and, taking into account his short time in office, reprimanded him for gross violation of the law on the preservation of historical and cultural monuments. Z. Grigosaitis, deputy minister of culture, was cited for insufficient control over implementation of the law, and B. Shesplaukis, chairman of the State Construction Committee, was directed to punish the construction workers guilty of violating this law and the planners who proposed this inappropriate project. All three organizations, the Trakai ispolkom, the Ministry of Culture and the State Construction Committee, were reprimanded for insufficient concern with the preservation of the Lithuanian historical heritage and archeological monuments. The construction project was ordered halted until the construction plans are reexamined and problems corrected.

UD/mc

Polish-Lithuanian Cultural Ties Promoted

18000578a [Editorial Report] Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 1 June 1988 on page 3 carried a 500-word report on the 10th congress of Poland's Lithuanian Social-Cultural Society held in the border city of Seynay. The congress was attended by members from all over Poland, including members of the PUWP Central Committee, the Polish ministries of foreign affairs and national education. The main speaker was Yu. Blyudzyunas, chairman of the society and first secretary of the PUWP Punska city party committee, who noted that the society has 47 branches in the major cities of Poland and that one of the main goals of the society is the preservation of the cultural legacy of Lithuanians living in the territory of Poland, the development of creative cultural activities and the creation of conditions enabling children to study in their own native language. He praised several singing groups from Punska, the

recently held song festivals and the work of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, the Lithuanian Society for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries and the Lithuanian Branch of the Society for Soviet-Polish Friendship. Sigita Paransevichyus, director of the Punska secondary school, was elected chairman of the Lithuanian Social-Cultural Society.

UD/mc

Polish, Lithuanian News Agencies Sign Agreement

18000578b [Editorial Report] Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 1 June 1988 carried on page 3 a 100-word report on the visit to Lithuania of Mikhail Gardovski, editor in chief of Poland's Central Photographic Agency. An agreement was signed between ELTA and the Central Photographic Agency on the exchange of photo information and photo journalists between the two agencies and on other questions of cooperation. Gardovski was received by Ch. Zh. Shlizhyus, chief of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, M.I. Sadovskiy, chief of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Foreign Relations Department, and A.M. Stankya-vichyus, director of ELTA.

UD/mc

Activities of Lithuanian Jewish Cultural Group Detailed

18000578c [Editorial Report] Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian on 7 June 1988 carried on page 2 a 300 word report by M. Yankivskis on the activities of the Lithuanian SSR Culture Fund Group for Promoting Jewish Culture. Yankivskis detailed the activities of this group since its formation at the beginning of 1988, listing among them the organization of a conference in January with representatives of Jewish and Lithuanian organizations and a trip to Warsaw for the commemoration of the 45th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. During the commemoration B. Tsvizon gave a speech on the history of the uprising and D. Gelpernas shared his reminiscences of the Kaunas ghetto residents who joined partisan bands after escaping from the camps. The report noted plans for an exhibit of Jewish history on 10 June in Kaunas, the reconstruction of the Vilnius Jewish Museum and the resotation of Jewish cultural monuments, graves and places of mass burial of victims of fascism.

UD/mc

Latvians Plan Monument to Stalin's Victims

18000579a [Editorial Report] Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 12 June 1988 on page 1 carried a

200 word report on a session of the Latvian CP Central Committee Buro at which the Latvian SSR Council of Ministers, the Latvian Trade Union Council, the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee and other public organizations were directed to take concrete measures in 1988 for a memorial to the victims of repression during the period of Stalin's cult of personality. The buro also endorsed the initiative of the Latvian Komsomol Central Committee for voluntary collection of monetary funds for the monument. Party gorkoms, raykoms, ispolkoms and public organizations were advised to initiate work in memorializing active fighters for Soviet power in Latvia, victims of the German-Fascist occupation, victims of political banditry of the post-war period, and to educate workers in the spirit of socialist morality, high civic-mindedness, patriotism and internationalism.

UD/mc

**Lithuania's Polish-Language Newspaper
Commemorated**

18000579b [Editorial Report] Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 26 June 1988 on page 3 carried an ELTA report on the 25 June festivities in Vilnius to celebrate "CZERWONY SZTANDAR Newspaper Day." The participants included singing groups from Poland and Lithuania and officials from the Polish embassy, news media, the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department and the Lithuanian journalists' union. Deputy editors of CZERWONY SZTANDAR, K. Adamovich and Yu. Survila, noted in their remarks at the celebration that this was the 35th anniversary of the only daily newspaper in the USSR published in the Polish language.

UD/mc